

1-1-2006

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Black parenting: Are Black parenting practices a reflection of circumstances?

by

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A thesis submitted to the graduate faculty
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE

Major: Human Development and Family Studies
(Early Childhood Education)

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2006

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has met the thesis requirements of Iowa State University

Signatures have been redacted for privacy

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ABSTRACT

Black and Caucasian mothers' parenting was investigated using data from the Early Head Start Research and Evaluation Study (EHSRE) 1996-2001. Four questions relevant to comparing differences in Black and Caucasian mothers' parenting were asked; how do Black and Caucasian mothers compare on a) parental experiences and attitudes toward childrearing, b) responsiveness, c) degree of harshness used to discipline their children, and d) number of life stressors. Socio-cultural factors such as their age, education, single parent status, income, and occupation were also compared. The Early Head Start Interview for 3-Year Old Children was administered to mothers and one focus child. Mothers completed a 2-hour interview in the home with trained home interviewers. Based on Black and Caucasian mothers interviews and self-reports, no significant differences were found between reports of parental experiences of parental distress and reports of being victims of violent crimes. However, significant differences were found in mothers' reports of a) parental experiences of negative child dysfunctional interactions, b) attitudes toward childrearing, c) responsiveness based on interviewer observations, d) discipline, e) number of life stressors mothers faced, and socio-cultural factors such as age, education, single-parent status, income, and occupation. A discussion of the findings and implications for future research are included.

INTRODUCTION

The idea of being a good parent is the assumable goal of most parents; however, child rearing can be one of the most difficult responsibilities a person ever faces. Because parenting affects children's physical, emotional, social, and intellectual development (Baumrind, 1967; Cummings & Davies, 1994; Slater & Power, 1987) it is imperative that parents choose an *appropriate* pathway to rear their children. But what exactly constitutes *appropriate* pathways?

Parents form their own parenting theory based on the cultural and reference group with which they identify. Because of the cultural diversity in the United States, there exists a variety of attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, and values about rearing children (McGoldrick, 1982). Existing literature on culturally diverse parenting tends to compare Caucasian middle-class family patterns with disproportionately lower-income ethnic groups (McHenry, Everret, Ramseur, & Carter, 1989; Vega, 1990).

Black parenting requires unique consideration and evaluation as Black women in recent years have come under hostile criticisms such as being overly punishing, raising children in disorganized homes, and being inept as single parents. Such fault finding, however, is unsupported....The dilemma in studying Black families is that the ideas, values and beliefs of child rearing are based on European American standards of child rearing which are based on different cultural standards (Leary, 2006, ¶ 2).

The aim of this research is to compare low income Black and Caucasian mothers in order to better understand circumstances that may affect Black parenting. The construct of parenting will be defined and related empirical research will be presented. Belsky's model, the

determinants of parenting, and the family systems theory will also be discussed. Four research questions and the corresponding data analyses and results will be presented and discussed. Limitations, implications, and suggestions will be offered.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Why Study Black Parenting Practices?

Black parents and children have long been misunderstood as individuals and collectively as a family unit; therefore, it is no surprise that Black parenting practices are misunderstood as well. The Black family has repeatedly been characterized as weak, disorganized, and vulnerable (Fraizer, 1932; Moynihan, 1965) and Black parents consistently have been described as harsh, rigid, and strict (Durrent, O'Bryant, & Pennebaker, 1975; Radin & Kamii, 1965). Several studies also have indicated that strict, authoritarian, or intrusive childrearing practices are more characteristic of Black mothers than of Caucasian mothers (Bradley, Corwyn, McAdoo, & Garcia-Coll, 2001; McLoyd & Smith, 2002). These findings suggest the importance of defining authoritarian parenting in a socio-cultural context and asking the question: Are Black mothers more authoritarian than Caucasian mothers? If so, under what circumstances do these differences exist?

What Is Parenting Style?

Parenting is described as a multidimensional activity, which includes many specific and nonspecific behaviors that work individually as well as collectively to influence a child. Parenting is important because it is a predictor of child outcomes (see Baumrind, 1967; Cummings & Davies, 1994; Slater & Power, 1987). Parents typically develop what is known as a parenting style and it is the parenting style which has been found to predict child well-being in several domains of social competence, academic performance, psychosocial development, and problem behavior. Parenting style may refer to the methodical or haphazard way parents rear their children; however, most researchers seeking to define parenting style employ Baumrind's concept of parenting style that argues typical parenting is

centered around issues of control where the role of all parents is to influence and teach children by maintaining some level of control. As defined by Baumrind, parenting style is only applicable in the context of normal variations in a parent's attempts to control and socialize children; therefore, it is not relevant to parenting environments where deviant parenting might be observed.

This definition of parenting style captures two specific elements of parenting: parental responsiveness and parental demandingness, as described by Maccoby and Martin (1983). Parental responsiveness, which is often referred to as parental warmth or supportiveness is defined as “the extent to which parents actively encourage individuality and self-regulation by first being aware of and secondly, being supportive of children's needs and demands” (Baumrind, 1991, p. 62). Parental demandingness, often referred to as behavioral control, is the claims parents make on children to become integrated into the family way, “by establishing maturity demands, tight supervision, disciplinary efforts and willingness to confront the disobedient child” (Baumrind, pp. 61-62). Parental responsiveness predicts social competence and psychosocial functioning, while parental demandingness is associated with instrumental competence and behavioral control (i.e., academic performance and deviance). Parents are categorized according to whether they are high or low on parental demandingness and responsiveness, which then creates the typology of four parenting styles: indulgent, authoritarian, authoritative, and uninvolved. Because parenting style is a typology rather than a linear combination of responsiveness and demandingness, each parenting style is more than and different from the sum of its parts (Baumrind).

In addition to differing on responsiveness and demandingness, parenting styles also differ in the extent to which they are characterized by a third dimension known as

psychological control. Psychological control refers to “control attempts that intrude into the psychological and emotional development of the child” (Barber, 1996, p. 3296) through use of parenting practices such as guilt induction, withdrawal of love, or shaming.

Authoritative Parenting

Authoritative parents are open to give and take conversation with their children and make great use of explanations; they are high in demandingness and high in responsiveness. In the United States, it is often reported that authoritative parenting is most common among intact, middle-class families of European descent; however, Chao (1994) and Darling and Steinberg (1993) have argued that observed ethnic and racial differences need to be considered when associating parenting style with child outcomes. Differences in social context, parenting practices, and cultural meanings may all impact parenting style. In reviewing the literature on parenting style, it is evident that authoritative child rearing is more often associated with greater social competence and lower levels of problem behavior in both boys and girls at all developmental ages and stages (Darling, 1999).

Authoritarian Parenting

One key difference between authoritarian and authoritative parenting is the dimension of psychological control. Both authoritarian and authoritative parents place high demands on their children and expect their children to behave appropriately and obey parental rules. Authoritarian parents, however, also expect their children to accept their judgments, values, and goals without questioning. In contrast, authoritative parents are more open to give and take with their children and make greater use of explanations. Authoritative and authoritarian parents are equally high in behavioral control, but authoritative parents tend to be low in psychological control, while authoritarian parents tend to be high in psychological control.

Research concludes that children from *authoritarian* families (high in demandingness, but low in responsiveness) tend to perform moderately well in school and show low levels of problem behavior, and they have poorer social skills, lower self-esteem, and higher levels of depression (Darling, 1999).

Indulgent Parenting

Children and adolescents from *indulgent* homes (high in responsiveness, low in demandingness) are more likely to have parents who let children do what they want. As a result children are more likely to be involved in problem behavior and perform less well in school, but they have higher self-esteem, better social skills, and lower levels of depression.

Uninvolved Parenting

Children from *uninvolved* homes have parents who are unresponsive, uncontrolling, and undemanding (Martin & Colbert, 1997). Uninvolved parents are low in both responsiveness and demandingness. In extreme cases, this parenting style might encompass both rejecting-neglecting and neglectful parents, although most parents of this type fall within the normal range.

Parenting In a Socio-Cultural Context

Few researchers have studied parenting within the socio-cultural context. Ogbu (1981) found that one style of parenting over another did not dictate positive child outcomes. Ogbu's cultural ecological model suggests that the availability of resources in the cultural environment coupled with past and present conditions are what dictate which childrearing practices are most effective at promoting parent-specific and/or cultural-specific outcomes. In accordance, Young (1974) found that Black children were socialized by their parents using what she termed "no nonsense parenting." Brody and Flor (1998) indicate that no nonsense

parenting is characterized by high levels of parenting control, including the use of physical restraint and physical punishment along with being affectionate. Young's study revealed that as a result of no nonsense parenting, Black children developed the ability to exercise self regulatory skills. The idea of no nonsense parenting is a far cry from the typical authoritarian label assigned to Black parents; therefore, this style of parenting presents a new perspective of how Black parents raise their children. From a Black parent perspective, achieving positive parenting goals under harsh circumstances such as living in hazardous neighborhoods, financial strain, depression, and single motherhood may require the use of more stringent child management techniques such as "no nonsense parenting" (Kelly, Power, & Wimbush, 1992).

Theoretical Framework

Belsky's Determinants of Parenting

Belsky (1984) suggested the use of a process model of the determinants of parenting to explain how and why parents rear their children as they do. Belsky's model presumes that parenting is directly influenced by forces from within the individual parent (personality), within the individual child (child characteristics of individuality), and from the broader social context in which the parent-child relationship is embedded, specifically, marital relations, social networks, and occupational experience of the parents. As hypothesized by many researchers, parenting functioning shares a relationship with parent personality. In fact, factors such as age and psychological deficits help to predict parenting failure. Jones, Green, and Krauss (1980) reported younger mothers tended to be less responsive to their newborns and Osofsky and Osofsky (1970) found that they engage infants in fewer verbal interactions than older mother. Younger mothers were less psychologically mature than older mothers,

complained of the difficulty of raising children, and reported more psychological distress. Depressed mothers were observed as offering disruptive, hostile, rejecting home environments to children that ultimately undermined child functioning (Colletta, 1983). The process model further concludes that (a) parenting is multiply determined, (b) characteristics of the parent, the child, and the social context are not equally influencing in supporting or undermining growth-promoting parenting with respect to influences on parenting, and (c) developmental history and personality shape parenting indirectly by first influencing the broader context in which parent-child relations exist (i.e., marital relations, social networks, occupational experience).

Family Systems Theory

Family systems theory is a body of knowledge derived from professional observations of clinical and counseling psychologists as they work with individuals and their families. The family systems theoretical framework looks at the family as a whole (Kantor & Lehr, 1975) and suggests that families are dynamic systems of interconnected, interdependent individuals who cannot be understood in isolation from the system. The family systems approach argues that our behaviors are greatly attributed to the system we come from as well as the patterns, beliefs, and routines that are established within the system.

Important in determining parenting style is the consideration of the family as a functional unit. Family systems theories suggest that parental behavior and parent child interactions are interdependent parts of one relational system (Cox, Payel, & Harter, 2001). The main idea identified in family systems theory is that every family member and his or her behaviors are interconnected with those of every other family member. This theory emphasizes the importance of each family as a system finding a balance between

separateness and connectedness. Family members are individuals and must develop their own identity; however, they must also be able to function together. Family systems theory recognizes that there are internal/external forces and events that promote both separateness and connectedness, as well as change and stability. In the current research study it is imperative to evaluate those forces and events that are associated with specific parenting practices among Black parents in order to begin to uncover why Black parents are using one parenting style over another.

Family Characteristics that Impact Parenting

Many variables have been studied in relation to parenting. Because the current research study is concerned with low-income Black and Caucasian families, several characteristics are considered relevant and will be studied in this research.

Family Stressors/Stressful Events

For the purpose of this research, family stressors will be defined as a combination of life events, chronic strain, and daily hassles (e.g., death of loved ones, poverty, child behavioral problems, etc). Within the family structure parents often struggle with the demands of childrearing. As a result greater parental stress is often associated with less optimal parent and family functioning, less optimal parent-child interactions, and lower child development competence. Belsky's theoretical framework briefly acknowledges the child's role in determining how parents will rear their children, citing the existing literature which lists child temperament as the greatest determinant of childrearing influenced by the child.

Crnic and Greenberg (1990) expanded the conversation about the child's role in parenting with the introduction of minor stresses faced by parents with children who exhibit both challenging behaviors and behavioral problems (e.g., challenging behaviors: "whining,"

“kids don’t listen,” or “require constant attention” and behavioral problems: “has angry moods,” “is disobedient,” or “child screams a lot.” In Crnic and Greenburg’s study, behavioral problems were measured by the Child Behavior Checklist (Achenbach & Edelbrock, 1983). Children who exhibited behavioral problems contributed to greater stress levels in their mothers.

As Crnic and Greenberg (1990) found, minor stressors such as behavioral problems predicted both maternal and family functioning, a trend that Patterson (1983) argued does not directly put children at risk; however, the family system as a whole suffers. Negatively perceived as well as confirmed challenging behaviors and negative behavioral problems often represent additional stressor for parents.

Neighborhoods where families live also contribute to the decisions parents make about how they will rear their children. Ethnographic and qualitative research have identified several circumstances in which parents feel they must take drastic measures to keep their children safe. Parents are more likely to exhibit restrictive parenting practices if they live in impoverished or unsafe neighborhoods (Burton, 1990; Furstenburg, 1993). The stress accompanied with rearing children in poor neighborhoods can have deleterious effects on parents and their interactions with their children. Klebanov, Brooks-Gunn, and Duncan (1994) found that parents who live in more impoverished or dangerous neighborhoods are less warm and responsive to their children than parents in safer neighborhoods.

Physical Discipline

In the United States parent use of physical discipline is prevalent, although controversial (Gershoff, 2002). Physical discipline generally includes behaviors such as spanking, hitting, slapping, and hitting with objects. Research indicates parenting stress and

disadvantaged circumstances contribute greatly to the use of physical discipline. Parental characteristics linked to physical discipline include circumstances of low income, parenting beliefs, negative life events, poor mental health, and high levels of hostility and marital discord (Gershoff, 2002; Jackson, Gyami, Brooks-Gunn, & Blake, 1998; Smith & Brooks-Gunn, 1997).

Research on the topic of physical discipline has typically focused on the comparison of Black families to middle class Caucasian families (Deater-Deckard, Dodge, Bates, & Pettit, 1996; Smith & Brooks-Gunn, 1997). This research has portrayed Black parents negatively as having unrealistic expectations for obedience and overly harsh disciplinary tactics. Research suggests that when Caucasian middle-class parents use physical discipline, they are perceived by their Caucasian cohorts as out-of control authoritarian parents. On the other hand, when Black parents fail to use physical discipline, they are perceived by their Black cohorts as neglectful parents (Deater-Deckard et al.). So, one's culture is an important factor in how physical discipline is understood.

Current research has acknowledged that Black parents' use of consistent, yet not overly harsh physical discipline coupled with warmth and affection is related to positive child outcomes (Conger, Conger, Elder, Lorenz, Simons, & Whitbeck, 1992). Black parents' decision to physically discipline their children often leads to Black parents being labeled as authoritarian parents; however, research suggests that authoritarian parenting appears to be less detrimental to ethnic minority children than to Caucasian children (Baumrind, 1972). Gunnoe and Mariner (1997) argue that it is not spanking that causes negative child outcomes but the context in which the spanking takes place.

Maternal Depression

Maternal depression can be caused by numerous factors including daily stressors, heredity, and negative life events; however, there is strong evidence linking low SES with maternal depression (Booth, Barnard, Mitchell, & Spieker, 1987). Mothers in difficult circumstances (e.g., low income and depression) tend to have less optimal interactions with their children than mothers who do not have such difficulties. Maternal depression has deleterious effects on both parenting capabilities and child outcomes. McLoyd (1990) found that psychological distress (i.e., depression) among poor parents can lead to the over use of negative control strategies, low warmth and responsiveness, and failure to monitor children adequately. Longfellow, Zelkowitz, and Sanders (1982) reported that highly depressed, poor mothers were more likely to yell and hit their children and rely less on reasoning and loss of privileges when disciplining their children. McLoyd and Wilson (1992) reported that lower income mothers who were more distressed (i.e., depressed) perceived their parenting as more difficult, were less nurturing to their children, and discussed personal problems with their children. Longitudinal research on health indicates that living in a low SES environment over a prolonged period of time tends to deplete energy reserve capacity and leads to negative emotional states such as anxiety, depression, and hostility. These characteristics lead to poorer relationships with family members and friends (Gallo & Matthews, 1999).

Income

Income is associated with several factors which may impact the role of parenting (Eggebeen & Lichter, 1991). As noted in the previous section, income appears to be associated with depression. Black families and, thus Black children, are more likely to live in poverty and to experience persistent poverty than Caucasian children (Duncan, Brooks-Gunn,

& Klebanov, 1994). Low-SES families experience more threatening and uncontrollable life events, are disproportionately exposed to environmental hazards and violence, and are at increased risk of experiencing destabilizing events such as family dissolution and household moves (Bradley & Whiteside-Mansell, 1997; Gad & Johnson, 1980). Coping with the strains of low SES also reduces the likelihood that families have equal opportunities to engage in health-promoting activities (National Center for Children in Poverty, 1990). The chronic strain associated with unstable employment and persistent economic hardship can lead to diminished self-esteem, a diminished sense of control over one's life, and increased anger and depression (Amato & Zuo, 1992; Dohrenwend, 1990).

Research Questions

This research will examine the following questions:

1. How do Black mothers' parental childrearing experiences (i.e., parent distress, parent child dysfunctional interactions and parental attitudes toward child rearing compare with experiences and attitudes of Caucasian mothers?
2. How do Black mothers compare with Caucasian mothers in terms of responsiveness to their children?
3. How do Black mothers compare with Caucasian mothers in the way they discipline their children (i.e., spank, slap, and yell at)?
4. How do Black mothers compare with Caucasian mothers in number of stressors reported in their lives?

METHODOLOGY

This research was conducted using a pre-existing data set, The Early Head Start Research and Evaluation (EHSRE) project (1996-2005) (U.S. Department of Human Services: Administration for Children and Families, n.d.), which consisted of two phases: the Birth to Three Phase and the Kindergarten Follow-Up Phase. For this research study the focus was on mothers of 36-month-old-children. The EHSRE project was conducted by a collective body, The Early Head Start Research Consortium, consisting of both federal and national staff, 15 local research teams, and the directors of the 17 Early Head Start programs (see Appendices A and B). The consortium was created primarily to oversee collaborations on issues related to policy, assessment, the use of team research, and evaluation data for the project. The Consortium identified the evaluation of this project as key to their collaborative studies in that it allowed for the thorough examination of the impacts of Early Head Start on imperative child and family outcomes. The consortium chose 17 sites for data collection. Site selections was based on three important criteria: (a) programs and participants selected were required to reflect the outward diversity of families in the United States as well as uphold standards of Early Head Start; (b) programs were required to build and maintain research partnerships with universities; and (c) programs were required to recruit more families than they could serve. As a result, the evaluation project randomly assigned 3,001 families to participate in either Early Head Start or to a control group. At the time of the 36 months assessment, 2,110 families remained in the study with 1,107 in the Early Head Start group and 1,003 in the control group. For the original project, comprehensive data were gathered using multiple measures; however, the current study used only (a) direct child assessments,

(b) observations of the parent-child interactions, (c) observations of the home environment, and (d) interviews with parents about child and family functioning.

Participants

Participants for this study were selected from the Early Head Start Research and Evaluation Study based on race. Participant were 1,492 mothers (674 [45%] Black and 818 [55%] Caucasian) who had children 3 years of age who were either enrolled in Early Head Start or the control group who did not receive Early Head Start services. Black mothers ranged from 22 to 56 years old ($M = 32$, $SD = 2.008$) and Caucasian mothers ranged from 24 to 53 years of age ($M = 33$, $SD = 1.993$) (see Table 1).

Marital Status

Black mothers were more than twice as likely (78%) to be single than Caucasian mothers (38%). Caucasian mothers were four times (39%) more likely to be married than Black mothers (10%). Other statistics concerning marital status are listed in Table 1.

Education

Mothers' education categories ranged from having a 5th-8th grade education to having a doctoral degree. The lowest education category, 5th-8th grade education, contained similar numbers of Black mothers (5.5%) and Caucasian mothers (3.4%). Additionally, more Black mothers (40%) than Caucasian mothers (29%) mothers had a 9th-12th grade education; 30% of Black mothers and 37% of Caucasian mothers had received a high school diploma.

Table 1

Sample Characteristics by Race

Characteristics	Race			
	Black (<i>n</i> =674/45%)		Caucasian (<i>n</i> = 818/55%)	
<i>Mother's Age</i>	<u><i>M</i></u> 32	<u>Range</u> 22-56	<u><i>M</i></u> 33	<u>Range</u> 24-53
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
<i>Marital Status</i>				
Single	516	78.0	309	38.0
Married	66	10.0	313	39.0
Separated	30	4.5	36	4.4
Divorced	8	1.2	54	6.7
Widowed	1	.2	3	.4
Unmarried, cohabitating	40	6.0	97	12.0
<i>Education</i>				
5 th -8 th	36	5.5	27	3.4
9 th -12 th	259	40.0	231	29.0
High School	198	30.0	295	37.0
Some College	131	19.0	196	24.0
A.A., B.S., Master's, Ph.D.	27	3.9	58	7.2
<i>Occupation</i>				
Full-Time	87	16.0	102	15.0
Part-Time	62	12.0	114	16.0
In school working toward H.S. diploma or G.E.D.	163	30.0	67	9.5

Table 1 (continued)

Characteristics	Black ($n=674/45\%$)		Caucasian ($n= 818/55\%$)	
Unemployed with experience	141	26.0	163	23.0
Unemployed with disability	5	.9	7	10.0
<i>Income</i>				
\$0-\$9,000	368	70.0	442	60.0
\$10,000-\$30,000	125	24.0	250	34.0
over \$ 20,000	30	5.7	49	6.6

Black mothers ($M = 8.99$, $SD = 2.008$) on average, attended high school but did not graduate; Caucasian mothers ($M = 9.51$, $SD = 1.899$) typically graduated from high school. About 20% of Black mothers and 24% of Caucasian mothers reported some college. Nearly twice as many Caucasian mothers as Black mothers had a degree in higher education (see Table 1).

Occupation

Occupation ranged from having full-time employment (e.g., more than 32 hours per week) to being unemployed. Based on mothers' self-reports of occupations, about equal numbers of Caucasian mothers (15%) and Black mothers 16% were employed full time; 16% of Caucasian mothers and 12% of Black mothers had part-time employment and 30% of Black mothers and 9.5% of Caucasian were enrolled in a high school diploma or GED program. More than twice as many Caucasian (36%) as Black mothers (15%) reported homemaker as their specific occupation; 26% of Black mothers and 23% of Caucasian reported being unemployed, but having past work experience. Finally, more than ten times as

many Black mothers as Caucasian mothers reported being unable to work due to having a disability (see Table 1).

Income

For income, 70% of Black mothers reported making \$0-\$9,000.00 while 60% of Caucasian mothers reported an income within this range. Additionally, 34% Caucasian mothers and 24% of Black mothers reported income of \$10,000.00-30,000.00. Finally, 6.6% of Caucasian mothers and 5.7% of Black mothers reported an income over \$20,000.00 (see Table 1).

Measures

The Early Head Start Parent Interview for Parents of 3-Year Old Children (EHSPIP) was used in this research study (see Appendix C). In each section only those items relevant to answering the research questions of interest were used. The following sections describe the particular scales or portions of those scales selected from the EHSPIP. Specifically, the next section provides general information about each instrument used and where they can be found within the EHSPIP.

Parent Stress Index-Short Form (PSI-SF)

To measure parental child rearing experiences, the PSI-SF (Abidin, 1995) was used. This instrument was administered to parents to measure possible stresses in the parent-child relationship, specifically by asking parents questions relevant to (a) the child's difficult temperament, (b) parental depression, and (c) negatively reinforcing parent-child interactions. The PSI-Short Form has two subscales. The first subscale focuses on *parental distress* which specifically deals with amount of distress the parent is feeling in his/her role as a parent. Personal factors such as parental competency, possible parental depression, and

lack of support from others are considered. This subscale contains 12 items, such as “Since having your child you feel you are almost never able to do things that you like” and “You enjoy things less than you used to.”

The second subscale focuses on *parent-child dysfunctional interaction*, which deals with a parent’s perception that his/her child is not living up to the parent’s expectations, thereby inciting negative parent-child interactions. This subscale contains 12 items that ask parents questions such as “Sometimes child does things to bother you just to be mean” and “Child smiles at you much less than you expected.”

For both PSI subscales, the parents are asked to answer the questions based on whether he or she agrees/disagrees with statements based on a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 = strongly agree to 5 = strongly disagree. However, because these items were all reverse coded, higher scores are an indication of higher levels of parental distress and higher levels of parent-child dysfunctional interaction. Early Head Start researchers reported Cronbach’s alpha reliability of the subscales parental distress and parent child dysfunctional interaction were .79 and .84, respectively.

Adult-Adolescent Parenting Inventory (AAPI-2)

The Adult-Adolescent Parenting Inventory (Bavolek, 1984) with five subscales was designed to examine parents’ self-reports of child-rearing attitudes known to pose possible risks of parenting behaviors which contribute to maltreatment of children. In the current study the Adult-Adolescent Parenting Inventory was used to measure lack of empathy and awareness of children’s needs and developmental expectations. Thirteen items concerning parents’ expectations and thoughts relating to rearing children were asked of parents; however, only the 7 empathy items were of concern in the current study. Examples of

empathy include items such as “Secure children expect too much,” “Children will stop crying if they are ignored,” or “Children grow physically at the same rate.” Responses were measured using a five point Likert-type scale, with responses ranging from 1 = strongly agree to 5= strongly disagree. Lack of empathy is interpreted by higher numbers reflecting agreement with statements which show a parent’s lack of empathy for meeting children’s needs and developmental progress. For the seven items used in the current study, Cronbach’s Alpha estimates of internal consistencies for the lack of empathy subscale was .80.

Home Observation for Measurement of the Environment (HOME)

The Home Observation Measurement of the Environment (Caldwell & Bradley, 1984) was used in the original study to obtain an overall measure of the child’s home environment. Measures of the HOME were obtained using a trained interviewer who asked parents about and observed many specific categories of the environment. For this study, however, specific subscale measurements of discipline and parent responsiveness were of interest.

To measure discipline, three questions were used. Two of the questions were specific stems (i.e., “If child keeps playing with breakable things, what do you do first?” and “If child has a tantrum in a public, such as a supermarket or bust stop and words do not work, what do you do?”) Mothers’ responded by saying the first thing on a list 13 (first question) or 15 (second question) she would do. For this study, those 13 or 15 responses were rank ordered and numbered so that the least harsh response, as judged by the researcher and her major professor, received a code of 1 while the most harsh response was coded 13 for the first item and 15 for the second item. The third discipline question asked “Most children get angry at their parents from time to time; if your child got so angry he or she hit you, what

would you do?" Mothers could indicate any or all of the seven possible responses. For this item, the percentage of Black and Caucasian mothers selecting the response were obtained.

To compare Black and Caucasian mothers' parent responsiveness, six items from the HOME subscale entitled parent-child interaction were used. The interviewer rated the mothers on observations such as "Does the mom respond verbally to child's questions?" "Does the mom kiss and cuddle the child?" These items were coded using a binary-choice yes/no format. In the current research, the reliability analysis of the six items yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .816.

Child Behavior Checklist

One of the research questions in the current study concerned stressors Black parent's encounter; the Child Behavior Checklist (CBC) (Achenback & Edelbrock, 1983) was used to determine if Black or Caucasian mothers were more likely to rate their children as having behavior problems. The Child Behavior Checklist was created with the primary goal of assessing children's behavior problems in various settings. This checklist contains items that measure both challenging and non-challenging behaviors. Parents were asked to indicate to what level they agree or disagree with a total of 39 questions relevant to child behavior; 31 items were taken from the aggression subscale and 8 items were chosen for their ability to discriminate children who were receiving clinical mental health services. Sample aggression items included items such as "Child is defiant," "Child hits others," and "Child is cruel to animals." Sample behavioral problem items include "Child cries a lot," "Child is uncooperative," and "Child has angry moods." Parents responded using a 3-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 = not true, 2 = somewhat or sometimes true, 3 = very or often true. In the analyses of the CBC, scores from all 39 questions were combined for one total score. The

higher the total score for children, the more aggression and behavior problems are indicated. This checklist has proven reliable as it has a published test-retest reliability statistic of .95 for the total score. This scale appears to have concurrent validity as it correlates highly with similar scales.

Stressful Events

Stressful events were derived from four items related to stressors parents may encounter in everyday living and from three items from a previous Head Start study named FACES which was conducted with Head Start participants (Olson, Portner, & Lavee, 1985). In order for the original researchers to compare data across both studies, the stressful events items were used in both the FACES study and the Early Head Start Research and Evaluation study. To evaluate stressful events, parents were asked to respond if any of these things happened to them in the past year (e.g., “Have you had a relative or close friend in jail?” “Has anyone close to you died?” “Has anyone living in the household had a problem with drugs and alcohol?” and “Has someone abused you physically, emotionally or sexually?” Questions derived from FACES asked mothers how often the following things happened to them in the past year: “I heard or saw a victim of violent crime in my neighborhood,” “I knew a victim of a violent crime,” and “I was a victim of a violent crime in my neighborhood.” Responses ranged from 0 = never to 3 = more than once.

The Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale Short Version

Parents’ general mental health was important to this study, specifically the concern of possible parental depression. The Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale Short version CESD-S (Radloff, 1977) was used to measure parental depression. This self-report of depression is a 12-item scale that asked specific questions related to depression. Parents

rated their own depression for the past week with questions such as “You feel Depressed,” “You were bothered by things that don’t usually bother you,” and “You felt sad.” This originally was measured on a 4-point Likert-type scale, with answers ranging from 1 = rarely or never (less than 1 day), 2 = some or a little (1-2 days), 3 = occasionally or moderate (3-4 days), and 4 = most or all the time (5-7days). However, the Early Head Start Research and Evaluation team applied special coding instructions to this scale, so for constructing total scores, items were recoded to range from 0 to 3 instead of 1 to 4. This scale has consistently demonstrated high internal consistency with Cronbach’s alpha’s ranging from .86 to .90 (Ensel, 1986). The Early Head Start study reported a Cronbach’s alpha of .82 using this depression scale.

Procedure

Prior to collecting the data which became the data source for this study, data had been collected when children were 12 and 24 months of age. Then at 36 months, a trained home interviewer contacted parents via telephone to schedule an appointment for a home visit. The home interviewer reminded the parents that the entire visit would take about two hours and that the visit consisted of three parts just as in prior visits. The home interviewer asked all parents to spend about a half hour with the target child for the purpose of letting him/her show the observer some of the things he/she had been learning. Next, the interviewer took out several different toys for the target child to play with while the observer videotaped the parent and target child together. Parents were notified that for the purpose of the observation it would be best if there were no interruptions. Finally, the interviewer asked some questions about the target child and the family routines. Many of the questions were the same or very similar to questions asked when the target child was 24 months old. Parents were directed

about what to do and encouraged to ask questions if needed. Parents were guaranteed a break at any time to take care of the target child or other children if necessary.

Parents were also reminded that any information provided would be confidential. Neither the parent's name nor the target child's name was attached to any of the information given. Home interviewers informed parents that if there was ever anything they were not comfortable talking about or doing they were allowed to skip that part.

The Institutional Review Board of the Office of the Office of Research Assurances at Iowa State University approved the current research (see Appendix D).

RESULTS

Analyses were performed to respond to each of the four research questions. The results are explained by each question, and all results are summarized in Table 2.

Question 1: How do Black mothers' parental childrearing experiences (i.e., parent distress and parent child dysfunctional interactions) as well as parental attitudes toward child rearing compare with experiences and attitudes of Caucasian mothers?

Parental Experiences

Parental Experiences were measured using the PSI-SF with subscales of parental distress and parent-child dysfunctional interactions. Two independent sample *t*-tests were used to compare Black and Caucasians mothers on these two subscales. There was no significant difference in Black and Caucasian mothers' self-reports of parental distress, $t(1454) = -1.82, p = 0.69$. Black mothers ($M = 2.12, SD = .834$) and Caucasian mothers ($M = 2.05, SD = .760$) did not differ in the amount of distress they reported feeling in their parenting roles (see Table 2). The *t*-test indicated significant differences in mothers' attitudes about typical interactions with their child, $t(1496) = -2.36, p < .05$ Black mothers were higher ($M = 1.69, SD = .558$) in their self reports of negative parent child dysfunctional interactions than were Caucasian mothers ($M = 1.62, SD = .468$) (see Table 2).

Table 2

Comparison of Black and Caucasian Mothers on Parent Experiences and Attitudes

<u>Maternal Racial Groups</u>							
Questions and Variables	Black			Caucasian			<i>t</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	
<i>Question 1. Parental Experiences and Attitudes</i>							
Parent Distress	2.12	.834	651	2.05	.760	803	-1.82
Parent-Child Dysfunc- tional Interaction	1.69	.558	658	1.62	.468	811	-2.36*
Attitudes	2.12	.709	645	1.77	.506	789	-10.45**

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .005$.

Parental Attitudes

An independent t-test comparing parental attitudes which are known to pose possible risks of negative parenting behaviors showed significant differences in Black and Caucasian mothers attitudes about childrearing, $t(1434) = 10.45, p < .005$. Black mothers reported less empathy and awareness regarding child development and developmental expectations for their children ($M = 2.12, SD = .710$) than did Caucasian mothers ($M = 1.77, SD = .506$) (see Table 2).

Question 2: How do Black mothers compare with Caucasian mothers in terms of responsiveness to their children?

A two-sample independent t-test comparing Black and Caucasian mother's responsiveness to their children based on 6 observation ratings from the HOME subscale indicated Caucasian mothers were significantly more responsive to their children than Black mothers, $t(1347) = .558$ $p < .005$. Caucasian mothers ($M = 5.27$, $SD = 1.35$) were more responsive to their children than were Black mothers ($M = 4.79$ $SD = 1.75$) (see Table 3).

Table 3

Comparison of Black and Caucasian Mothers on Responsiveness

<u>Maternal Racial Groups</u>							
Questions and Variables	Black			Caucasian			<i>t</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	
<i>Question 2. Responsiveness to Children</i>							
6 items on the HOME	4.79	1.75	612	5.27	1.35	735	.558**

** $p < .005$.

Question 3: How do Black mothers compare with Caucasian mothers in the way they discipline their children (i.e., spank, slap, and yell at)?

A nonparametric test for ranked values, the Mann-Whitney rank-sum test, was used to test differences in Black and Caucasian mothers' discipline for the first two items from the HOME. For these 2 items, mothers indicated which of the 13 methods they would use as a first response to dealing with children who continued to play with breakables. This test

indicated that the mean rank for Black mothers ($M = 766.41$) was higher, $p < .005$, than the mean rank for Caucasians mothers ($M = 703.01$), indicating that Black mothers were more harsh in dealing with children who continued to play with breakable items (see Table 4).

Table 4

Comparison of Black and Caucasian Mothers on Discipline (First Two of Three HOME Items)

	Maternal Racial Groups					
Questions and Variables	Black <i>Mean Rank</i>	<i>n</i>	Caucasian <i>Mean Rank</i>	<i>n</i>	Mann <i>Whitney U</i>	Z-Score
<i>Question 3. Harsh Discipline</i>						
Child keeps playing with breakables	766.41	657	703.01	805	241507.5	- 2.959**
Child throws tantrums in public places	781.36	645	655.30	789	216022.5	-5.260**

** $p < .005$.

For the second question “What would parents do if children threw a tantrum in a public place?” the Mann-Whitney rank-sum test again revealed a significant difference ($p < .005$) in how Black and Caucasian parents deal with children who throw tantrums in a public place. The mean rank score for Black mothers (*Mean Rank* = 781.36) is higher than the mean rank score for Caucasians mothers (*Mean Rank* = 665.30). Black mothers had significantly higher scores than Caucasian mothers indicating that Black mothers were harsher in dealing with children who throw tantrums in public.

When parents were asked what they would do if their “child got so angry he or she hit you,” nearly four times as many Black parents (30%) as Caucasian parents (8.2%) said they would hit the child back. A second option was send the child to his or her room; 24% of Caucasian mothers and 14% of Black mothers chose this option. A third option, to spank the child, was selected by three times as many Black mothers (36%) as Caucasian mothers (12%). Somewhat more (39%) Caucasian mothers than Black mothers (31%) said they would talk to the child about hitting. Other options chosen much less frequently were ignoring the hitting, giving children household chores, holding a child’s hands until they were calm, and yelling (see Table 5).

Table 5

Comparison of Black and Caucasian Mothers on Discipline (Third of Three HOME Items)

Questions and Variables	<u>Maternal Racial Groups</u>			
	Black		Caucasian	
	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>
<i>Question 3. Harsh Discipline</i>				
Parent’s Response if Child Hits Her				
Mom hit back	30.0	203	8.2	67
Send child to room	14.0	94	24.0	194
Spank	36.0	243	12.0	97
Talk to	31.0	208	39.0	315
Ignore	2.1	14	2.4	20
Give chores	.1	1	.1	1
Hold hand until child is calm	2.4	16	6.8	65
Yell	.5	3	1.8	15

Question 4: How do Black mothers compare with Caucasian mothers in number of stressors reported in their lives?

Life Stressors

Because the participants responded to the items in this section using a yes or no response format (e.g., Do you have friends or relatives in jail?) the chi-square (χ^2) test of independence in SPSS was used to analyze the results in this section. Chi-square tests indicated that Black mothers reported the following more often than did Caucasian mothers a) having relatives or friends in jail, b) having someone close die, c) hearing or seeing a violent crime, and d) knowing a victim of a violent crime. On the other hand, Caucasian mothers reported the following significantly more often than Black did mothers: a) living with someone who has a problem with alcohol or drugs and b) having been abused physically, emotionally or sexually more often than Black mothers. The two groups did not differ significantly on reports of being a victim of a violent crime (see Table 6).

Depression

A two sample independent t- test revealed significant differences in Black and Caucasian mothers' reports of depression, $t(718) = -4.32$, $p < .005$ Black mothers ($M = 19.02$, $SD = 9.72$) reported more experiencing more depression than Caucasian mothers ($M = 15.65$, $SD = 9.90$) (see Table 7).

Table 6

Comparison of Black and Caucasian Mothers on Life Stressors

Question and Variables	<u>Maternal Racial Groups</u>		<i>Chi-Square</i>
	Black %	Caucasian %	
<i>Question 4. Life Stressors/Stressful Events</i>			
Life Stressors			
Friends or relatives in jail	46.0	33.0	27.41**
Someone close dies	44.0	28.0	38.08**
Lived with addict	6.3	12.0	12.64**
Been physically, emotionally or sexually abused	9.0	12.6	4.63**
Heard/saw violent crime	19.0	9.0	68.55**
Knew victim of violent crime	17.0	9.3	49.77*
Was victim of violent crime	5.2	3.0	4.78

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .005$.

Child Behaviors

A 2 sample independent t- test revealed differences in Black and Caucasian mothers reports of child behaviors, $t(1433), 3.15, p < .005$ indicated that Caucasian mothers ($M = 34.76, SD = 7.01$) reported more problems with their children's behavior than Black mothers ($M = 33.60, SD = 6.87$) (see Table 7).

Table 7

Comparison of Black and Caucasian Mothers on Stressful Events

Questions and Variables	Maternal Racial Groups						<i>t</i>
	Black			Caucasian			
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	
<i>Question 4 (continued)</i>							
Depression	19.02	9.72	220	15.65	9.90	498	-4.32**
Child Behaviors	33.60	6.87	655	34.76	7.01	778	3.15**

** $p < .005$.

DISCUSSION

Parent Experiences and Attitudes

This study found significant differences between Black and Caucasian mothers in almost every aspect of parenting; however, no significant differences were found for reports of parental distress. This finding is inconsistent with previous research indicating that mothers with high levels of depression and parent-child dysfunctional interactions report greater parental distress. The current finding suggests a possible discrepancy in both Black and Caucasian mothers' reports. Others research has suggested that Blacks experience higher levels of parental distress than Caucasian parents (Belle, 1984); however, those results were not founded in this study. Perhaps Black and Caucasian mothers' reports of lack of distress can be attributed to using self-report. The parental attitudes scores indicated that Black mothers lacked empathy more than Caucasian mothers. Mothers' attitudes such as expecting a child to do things beyond his or her developmental capability, ignoring a child to avoid spoiling him or her, or looking to a child to meet a mother's needs for happiness are all behaviors demonstrated by Black mothers more often than by Caucasian mothers. In the future, it would be interesting to examine whether lack of empathy is a result of parental competence or parental culture (e.g., mothers' lack of empathy or learned cultural beliefs).

Responsiveness

Observations by trained interviewers indicated that Black mothers were not as responsive to their children as were Caucasian mothers. Conger, Conger and Elder (1997) suggested that persistent poverty induces stress and that stress decreases the likelihood that parents will provide responsive and stimulating care. Throughout this study there is evidence that the Black mother is experiencing extremely stressful circumstances including: a) lower

marital status, b) lower educational status, c) lower income, and d) higher levels of depression, as well as living in a more dangerous environment. However, it is important not to assume true that Black mothers are truly not as responsive to their children as Caucasian mothers. Issues such as having strangers in the natural home environment, the race of the observer, and the context in which responsiveness was measured may have affected Black mothers' responsiveness.

Discipline

Spanking is one of the more popular approaches to discipline cited among ethnic minority families in the United States (Day, Peterson, & McCracken, 1998). Day et al. found that Black mothers consistently used what was considered to be harsher physical disciplinary tactics (e.g., spanking and hitting) than Caucasian mothers when attempting to control their children. However, Caucasian mothers yelled more often to control their children. One could view this result in multiple ways. First, it is important to keep in mind that Black parents responded that they would spank more in each situation; however, this may not be reflective of what they would do in an actual situation. Also the context in which Black mothers said they would spank may not be appropriate as interpretable by professionals; however it is with caution that anyone should label Black mothers as being harsher in their disciplinary tactics simply because they chose one form of discipline over another. A second way to view this result relates to finding by Deater-Deckard et al. (1996). Because the Caucasian cohort might be "judged" more negatively for spanking their children, Caucasian mothers might be more likely to under-represent spanking and because the Black mothers are perceived by their cohorts more negatively for failing to spank their children, they might be more likely to over report spanking.

Life Stressors

This research showed significant differences between Black and Caucasian mother's in almost every aspect of life stressors (i.e., having friends/relatives in jail, having someone close die, living in households with someone with a alcohol or drug problem, being abused physically, emotionally or sexually hearing or seeing violent crime, knowing victims of violent crimes, childhood behavioral issues, and depression); however, no significant differences were found in mothers' reports of being violent crime victims. Black mothers' reported having more friends or relatives in jail. This finding is consistent with other research; between 1989 and 1994, there was a 78% increase in the number of Black women under correctional supervision, the highest for all demographic groups within those years. Approximately 65% of those women had children. The rate of imprisonment for Black women is more than 8 times that of white women and between 1999 and 2004, Blacks were five times more likely than Caucasians to be in jail (U.S. Department of Justice Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2004). Additionally, 10 out of the 17 Early Head Start research sites (Arkansas, California, Iowa, Pennsylvania, New York, Missouri, Virginia, Mississippi, South Carolina and Tennessee) were located in states that have large Black prison populations in the United States (www.gibbsmagazine.com). Appendix E shows jail incarceration rates by ethnicity from 1994 to 2004. Black and Caucasian mothers' report of having someone close to them die is also consistent with current research. "The 10 biggest killers of Blacks of all ages include: heart disease, cancer, stroke, AIDS, accidents, homicide, diabetes, pneumonia and influenza, chronic pulmonary diseases such as asthma and bronchitis, and infant mortality" (http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/nvsr/nvsr48/nvsr48_11).

In addition Blacks are more likely to be obese and to have hypertension. High blood pressure is epidemic in the Black community and ultimately high blood pressure leads to greater rates of stroke, heart attack, and kidney failure in the Black community (Lowe, 2002). If we assume that most Blacks die of natural causes, this may offer insight as to why Black mothers report having someone close to them dying more often than Caucasian mothers. Black mothers were reported more likely to hear/see a violent crime in their neighborhood and know victims of violent crime than were Caucasian mothers. This finding supports the fact that Black families often live in violent, unsafe neighborhoods and therefore may find it necessary to use what some consider controversial tactics to ensure the safety of their children.

Depression

Longfellow, Zelkowitz, and Sanders (1982) reported that highly depressed, poor mothers were more likely to hit their children than other groups of mothers. In this study Black mothers had significantly higher depression and resorted to physical discipline more often than Caucasian mothers. In addition, parental competence plays a major role in parenting tactics. Parental competence, as seen by Belsky (1984), can be defined as sensitivity to a child's developing abilities and communications and is influenced by such factors as: a) *parental resources*: self-esteem, education, attitudes, expectations about child rearing, health, skills, knowledge of child development, beliefs, and values; b) *child's characteristics*: temperament, health, developmental level, birth order, size, gender; and c) *context*: quality of marital status, social networks, support systems, cultural values, work environment, and socio- cultural context. Black mothers in this study appeared to be deficient in both parent resources and context areas and depression could be a result of those

deficiencies. Caucasian mothers faced three major stressors including living with someone who has an alcohol or drug problem, being physically, emotionally or sexually abused, and child behavioral problems. Belsky's determinants of parenting and the family systems theory work effectively to show how families facing stressors need buffers to combat weak areas of parenting. It is probable that the stressors experiences by Caucasian mothers may be mediated by the fact that they have a) higher incomes, b) higher education, c) more marital support, and d) more stable occupations.

LIMITATIONS

Although, this study provided information related to Black and Caucasian mothers' parenting and socio-cultural differences, there are also many limitations to this research. First, self-reports from both Black and Caucasian mothers are likely to be biased. It is possible that responses provided by both Black and Caucasian mothers were not entirely representative of typical behaviors and characteristics of each mother. Participants could have responded to questions as they thought they should have, thereby, choosing responses which they considered "most appropriate" to this cohort group. To correct this limitation, one could use a triangulation of methods. For example instead of relying on mothers' reports alone, mothers could be observed by multiple researchers and family member reports could be used to obtain scores for each participant.

The second limitation of this research is the sole focus on parenting by mothers. As noted by Robinson and Fitzgerald (2002), much has been written about the impact of a mother's parenting on her relationship with her children. However, little attention has been given to the impact that fathers have on the early development of children. For future research it is imperative to evaluate both maternal and paternal parenting in order to paint a more accurate picture of how parenting styles develop and affect child developmental outcomes in every racial or ethnic group.

The third limitation is that social support was not studied. The Early Head Start Research and Evaluation Project includes data on social support and it could have added yet another piece to the puzzle. For future research, measuring social support in Black and Caucasian mothers would allow greater insight in determining if circumstances for Caucasian mothers are as grim as they are for Black mothers (i.e., how strong is the social support

network for each group of mothers?). If a support system is weak, it is assumed that stress and depression would increase. Finding an answer to this question will allow for more valid comparisons of Black and Caucasian mothers facing multiple stressors.

A fourth limitation is the failure to produce a variable(s) describing parenting styles in the data set selected. The original goal of this research was to compare parenting styles among Black and Caucasian mothers; however, this proved difficult due to the lack of specific variables relevant to parent styles within this data set. For future research it will be important to outline specific variables that describe parenting style as a means of answering the important question: How do socio-cultural factors such as race, mother's age, income, and education affect parenting style?

The fifth limitation is that the research literature referenced many deleterious outcomes for children based on the type of parenting style that mothers use. Future research will need to include an analysis of child outcomes relative to parenting style.

The sixth limitation involves the way particular sections of some measures were used. In some cases (i.e., the HOME and the three discipline items) selected items were used because the researcher felt they best measured what she out to study. In addition, sometimes large amounts of data were missing for each measure used (e.g., for The Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale Short Version there were data for fewer than 50% of the Black and Caucasian mothers. Furthermore, measures of the HOME, including discipline and responsiveness, may have produced results not typical of other researchers who have used this measure. Because no empirical research was found suggesting how to analyze the specific questions used from the discipline section, the method decided upon to compare Black and Caucasian mothers' discipline was to recode the data and conduct a

ranked scores analysis. Responsiveness, as measured by Bradley et al. (2001) included four of the six items used in this study to measure responsiveness. The current research yielded findings similar to those found by Bradley et al. in their comparisons of Black and Caucasian mothers' responsiveness.

IMPLICATIONS

One major implication of this research is the need to study Black mothers in a deeper context. For future research it is important to ask a) Why are Black mothers socio-cultural status consistently lower than Caucasian mothers socio-cultural status? b) What can be done to reduce the likelihood that Black mothers will consistently experience more life stressors? and c) What are the most effective ways to build Black mothers' parent-child relationships? Although Black mothers may appear to be authoritarian in their parenting style, the cultural context in which parenting takes place must be thoroughly examined before labeling or attempting to judge their parenting. Future research will need to determine how much of Black mothers' parenting is authoritarian in nature and how much is no non-sense parenting?

If we are to improve child outcomes through "better parenting" we have to continue to study what and how parents influence their children. But that's not all—not only do we have to understand the role of parenting style but also the role of the parent's personality, the various cultural contexts, the child's characteristics and how each one of these three interacts with or influences the other. We need to be sensitive in our inquiry, not only about the determinants of parenting but also how each determinant interacts with every other determinant to influence the child, who is, after all, the reason for parenting.

CONCLUSIONS

Findings from this study provide empirical “suggestions” for four basic research questions. The present research revealed significant differences in (a) the way Black and Caucasian mothers rear their children, (b) parental experiences and attitudes of Black and Caucasian mothers, (c) responsiveness observed in Black and Caucasian mothers (d), life stressors faced by Black and Caucasian mothers, and (e) income, education, marital status and specific occupation of the two groups.

These results suggest that mothers’ parental practices are a result of present and past circumstances. Based upon this research one may also infer that Black mothers are having a more difficult experience when raising children than are Caucasian mothers. Because parenting does have a major impact upon children, future research should be designed to illustrate culturally appropriate and practical parenting strategies which Black mothers could adopt in place of possible negative strategies used in Black mothers’ parenting. As of now, the best advice to give to Black mothers is be aware of how life’s circumstances affect you, your child, and your parenting so that you may actively assess and change areas in which parenting may be weakened.

APPENDIX A

EARLY HEAD START CONSORTIUM MEMBERS

ACF (R. Chazan Cohen, J. Jerald, E. Kresh, and H. Raikes. (Birth to Three, L. Tarullo)

Catholic University of America (M. Farber, L. Milgram Mayer, H. Liebow, C. Sabatino, N. Taylor, E. Timberlake, and S. Wall)

Columbia University (L. Berlin, C. Brady-Smith, J. Brooks-Gunn, and A. Sidle Fuligni)

Harvard University (C. Ayoub, B. Alexander Pan, and C. Snow)

Iowa State University (D. Draper, G. Luze, S. McBride, and C. Peterson)

Mathematica Policy Research (K. Boller, E. Eliason Kisker, J. Love, D. Paulsell, C. Ross, P. Schochet, C. Vogel, and W. van Kammen (TPK, L. Tarullo)

Medical University of South Carolina (R. Faldowski, G. Hong, and S. Pickrel)

Michigan State University (H. Fitzgerald, T. Reischl, and R. Schiffman)

New York University (M. Spellmann and C. Tamis LeMonda)

University of Arkansas (R. Bradley, M. Swanson, and L. Whiteside-Mansell)

University of California, Los Angeles (C. Howes and C. Hamilton)

University of Colorado Health Sciences Center (R. Emde, J. Korfmacher, J. Robinson, P. Spicer, and N. Watt)

University of Kansas (J. Atwater, J. Carta, and J. Summers)

University of Missouri-Columbia (M. Fine, J. Ispa, and K. Thornburg)

University of Pittsburgh (C. McAllister, B. Green, and R. McCall)

University of Washington School of Education (E. Armijo and J. Stowitschek)

University of Washington School of Nursing (K. Barnard and S. Spieker)

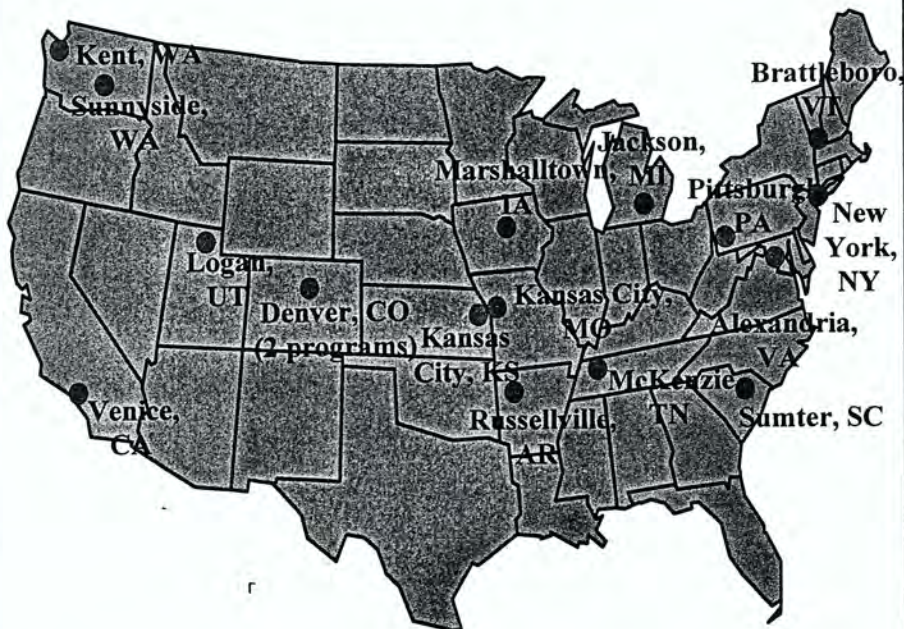
Utah State University (L. Boyce and L. Roggman)

APPENDIX B

17 EARLY HEAD START SITES



Early Head Start Research Sites



Russellville, AR

Pittsburg, PA

Jackson, MI

Venice, CA

New York, NY

Sumter, SC

Denver, CO (2 programs)

Kansas City, MO

McKenzie, TN

Marshalltown, IA

Kansas City, KS

Logan, UT

Brattleboro, VT

Alexandria, VA

Kent WA

Sunnyside, WA

INTERVIEWER: PLEASE NOTE: IN QUESTIONS THAT REFER TO THE PARENT/MOTHER OF THE FOCUS CHILD, WE MEAN "THE PERSON FUNCTIONING IN THAT ROLE WHO IS THE RESPONDENT." THIS COULD BE THE MOTHER, FATHER, GRANDMOTHER OR SOME OTHER RELATIVE. PLEASE ADAPT THE SPECIFIC QUESTION LANGUAGE AS NECESSARY.

INTRODUCTION

Hello. Thank you for agreeing to talk with us (again). As I mentioned (on the phone/when we made the appointment), the entire visit will take about 2 hours. The visit has three parts. (Just as we did last time.) I will need to spend about a half hour with (CHILD), letting (him/her) show me some of the things (he/she) has been learning. Next, I will take out different toys for (CHILD) to play with while I videotape you and (him/her) together. While you, (CHILD) and I are working together, it would be best if we were not interrupted. Finally, I will be asking you some questions about (CHILD) and your family routines. (Many of these questions are the same or similar to questions we asked you when [CHILD] was 2 years old.) As we go along, I will be telling you what we need you to do. And please, if you have any questions, feel free to ask them!

If at any time you need to take a break to take care of (CHILD) (or your other children), please let me know.

All the information you give me is confidential. Neither your name nor (CHILD)'s will be attached to any of the information you give us. If there is ever anything you are not comfortable talking about or doing, please let me know and we will skip that part.

Is this a good time for (CHILD)? We can start with (his/her) activities or with the interview if you think (he/she) isn't at (his/her) best right now.

IS THIS A GOOD TIME FOR CHILD?

YES 01 → GO TO SECTION 0

**NO 00 → START INTERVIEW,
RETURN TO SECTION 0
WHEN CHILD IS READY**

SECTION 1

RAISING A CHILD

1.0 INTERVIEWER: DID PARENT COMPLETE THE SELF-ADMINISTERED VERSION OF THESE QUESTIONS (SAQ 1)?

YES 01 → GO TO SECTION 2

NO 00 → CONTINUE

- 1.1 Having a child can sometimes be stressful. My first questions are about how stressful having (CHILD) has been for you and the ways in which you have had to adjust your life. For each statement, please tell me if you strongly agree with it, mildly agree, mildly disagree, or strongly disagree.

PSI

SHOW
CARD
1

(READ STATEMENT.) Do you strongly agree, mildly agree, mildly disagree, or strongly disagree?

CODE ONLY ONE RESPONSE FOR EACH STATEMENT.

		(DO NOT READ)				
		STRONGLY AGREE	MILDLY AGREE	NOT SURE	MILDLY DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
A.	You often have the feeling that you cannot handle things very well	01	02	03	04	05
B.	You find yourself giving up more of your life to meet your child(ren)'s needs than you ever expected	01	02	03	04	05
C.	You feel trapped by your responsibilities as a parent	01	02	03	04	05
D.	Since having (CHILD) you have been unable to do new and different things	01	02	03	04	05
E.	Since having (CHILD) you feel that you are almost never able to do things that you like to do	01	02	03	04	05
F.	There are quite a few things that bother you about your life	01	02	03	04	05
G.	Having (CHILD) has caused more problems than you expected in your relationship with men	01	02	03	04	05
H.	You feel alone and without friends ...	01	02	03	04	05
I.	When you go to a party, you usually expect to have a bad time	01	02	03	04	05
J.	You are less interested in people than you used to be	01	02	03	04	05

1.1 *continued*

		(DO NOT READ)				
		STRONGLY AGREE	MILDLY AGREE	NOT SURE	MILDLY DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
K.	You enjoy things less than you used to	01	02	03	04	05
L.	You are unhappy with the last purchase of clothing you made for yourself	01	02	03	04	05
M.	Your child rarely does things for you that make you feel good	01	02	03	04	05
N.	Most times you feel that (CHILD) does not like you and does not want to be close to you	01	02	03	04	05
O.	(He/She) smiles at you much less than you expected	01	02	03	04	05
P.	When you do things for (CHILD) you get the feeling that your efforts are not appreciated very much	01	02	03	04	05
Q.	When playing, (CHILD) rarely giggles or laughs	01	02	03	04	05
R.	(He/She) seems to learn slower than most children	01	02	03	04	05
S.	(He/She) seems to smile less than most children	01	02	03	04	05
T.	(CHILD) is able to do less than you expected	01	02	03	04	05
U.	It takes a long time and it is very hard for (CHILD) to get used to new things	01	02	03	04	05
V.	You expected to have closer and warmer feelings for your child than you do and this bothers you	01	02	03	04	05
W.	Sometimes (CHILD) does things that bother you just to be mean. PROBE: Does things knowing it will upset you or make you mad	01	02	03	04	05

1.2 Please tell me which statement describes how you feel about yourself as a parent. Do you feel that you are ...

PSI

CIRCLE ONE

Not very good at being a parent, ... 01

A person who has some trouble
being a parent, 02

An average parent, 03

A better than average parent, or ... 04

A very good parent? 05

1.3

Bavolekl

I'm going to read you some statements about parenting and raising children. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree with it, mildly agree, mildly disagree or strongly disagree.

(READ STATEMENT.) Do you strongly agree, mildly agree, mildly disagree or strongly disagree?

CODE ONLY ONE RESPONSE FOR EACH STATEMENT.

	STRONGLY AGREE	MILDLY AGREE	(DO NOT READ) UNCERTAIN	MILDLY DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
A. Parents will spoil their children by picking them up and comforting them when they cry	01	02	03	04	05
B. Children should not be expected to talk before the age of one year	01	02	03	04	05
C. Children under three years should not be expected to take care of themselves	01	02	03	04	05
D. Parents should expect their children to feed themselves by twelve months	01	02	03	04	05
E. Parents should expect their children to grow physically at about the same rate	01	02	03	04	05
F. Young children who feel secure often grow up expecting too much	01	02	03	04	05
G. Children under three years should not be expected to feed, bathe, and clothe themselves	01	02	03	04	05
H. Parents who are sensitive to their children's feelings and moods often spoil their children	01	02	03	04	05
I. Children whose needs are left unattended will often grow up to be more independent	01	02	03	04	05
J. Parents who encourage communication with their children only end up listening to complaints ..	01	02	03	04	05
K. Children will quit crying faster if they are ignored	01	02	03	04	05
L. Children five months of age are seldom capable of sensing what their parents expect	01	02	03	04	05
M. Children who are given too much love by their parents often grow up to be stubborn and spoiled	01	02	03	04	05

SECTION 8

DISCIPLINE

Young children sometimes do things they are asked not to do, or don't do things they are asked to do. I'm going to read you three examples of the way children can misbehave. For each one I'd like you to tell me what you do if (CHILD) behaves in this way.

8.1 If (CHILD) keeps playing with breakable things, what do you do first?

IHDP

PROBE FOR "NEVER HAPPENS": What would you do?

PROBE FOR SECOND RESPONSE: If that doesn't work, then what?

	A CODE FIRST MENTIONED	B CODE SECOND MENTIONED
NOTHING—IGNORE CHILD	01	01
KEEP (HIM/HER) IN PLAYPEN AND OUT OF EVERYTHING	02	02
SLAP (HIS/HER) HAND WHENEVER (HE/SHE) TOUCHES SOMETHING	03	03
TELL (HIM/HER) "NO!" AND EXPECT (HIM/HER) TO OBEY	04	04
TELL (HIM/HER) "NO!" AND EXPLAIN WHY	05	05
PUT (CHILD) IN (HIS/HER) ROOM	06	06
GIVE (CHILD) "TIME OUT" (HAVE CHILD SIT DOWN OR GO TO ROOM FOR PERIOD OF QUIET TIME)	07	07
SHOUT AT (HIM/HER)	08	08
PUT THINGS OUT OF REACH	09	09
OTHER (SPECIFY)	10	10
.....		
OTHER (SPECIFY)	11	11
.....		
DISTRACT WITH ACTIVITY	12	12
TAKE CHILD AWAY	13	13
COUNT	14	14
ASK CHILD FOR OBJECT/OR TO PUT OBJECT DOWN/BACK	15	15
NOTHING ELSE (USE THIS CODE IF ONLY ONE OPTION IS GIVEN)		4

- 8.3 If (CHILD) has a tantrum in a public place, such as a supermarket or bus stop, and words do not work, what do you do?

PROBE FOR "NEVER HAPPENS": What would you do?

PROBE FOR SECOND RESPONSE: If that doesn't work, then what?

	A	B
	<u>CODE FIRST</u> <u>MENTIONED</u>	<u>CODE</u> <u>SECOND</u> <u>MENTIONED</u>
IGNORE (HIM/HER), NOT TALK TO (HIM/HER)	01	01
SLAP OR PHYSICALLY PUNISH (HIM/HER)	02	02
PICK UP CHILD AND LEAVE THE PLACE	03	03
LEAVE AND EXPECT CHILD TO FOLLOW	04	04
PUNISH (HIM/HER) VERBALLY	05	05
SHAKE (HIM/HER)	06	06
SHOUT AT (CHILD)	07	07
TELL (CHILD) YOU WILL PUNISH (HIM/HER) AT HOME	08	08
THREATEN TO TAKE AWAY TREATS	09	09
THREATEN "TIME OUT" WHEN YOU GET HOME	10	10
OTHER (SPECIFY)	11	11

OTHER (SPECIFY)	12	12

GIVE CHILD FOOD	13	13
HOLD CHILD	14	14
DISTRACT/GIVE CHILD SOMETHING TO PLAY WITH	15	15
HASN'T HAPPENED	16	16
TALK TO CHILD	17	17
LET CHILD HAVE/DO WHAT HE/SHE WANTS	18	18
NOTHING ELSE (USE THIS CODE IF ONLY ONE OPTION IS GIVEN)		-4

8.5

HOME

Most children get angry at their parents from time to time. If your child got so angry that (he/she) hit you, what would you do?

PROBE: Anything else?

CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY

HIT (HIM/HER) BACK 01

SEND (HIM/HER) TO
(HIS/HER) ROOM 02

SPANK (HIM/HER) 03

TALK TO (HIM/HER) 04

IGNORE IT 05

GIVE (HIM/HER) HOUSEHOLD
CHORE 06

HOLD CHILD'S HANDS UNTIL
(HE/SHE) WAS CALM 07

OTHER (SPECIFY) 08

YELL AT CHILD 09

SECTION 9

CHILD BEHAVIOR

9.0 DID PARENT COMPLETE THE SELF-ADMINISTERED VERSION OF THESE QUESTIONS (SAQ3)?

YES 01 → GO TO SECTION 10

NO 00 → CONTINUE

9.1

CBC

Next, I am going to read a list of behaviors. Some may be true for (CHILD) and some may not be true for (him/her). For each one please tell me if, now or within the past 2 months, this has been not true, somewhat or sometimes true or very often or often true for (CHILD).

SHOW
CARD
15

(READ ITEM.) Now or within the past 2 months, has this been not true (so far as you know), been somewhat or sometimes true, or very often or often true?

CODE ONLY ONE RESPONSE FOR EACH STATEMENT.

	NOT TRUE	SOMEWHAT OR SOMETIMES TRUE	VERY OR OFTEN TRUE
A. (CHILD) can't concentrate, can't pay attention for long	01	02	03
B. (CHILD) can't sit still or is restless	01	02	03
C. (CHILD) can't stand waiting; wants everything now	01	02	03
D. (CHILD) cries a lot	01	02	03
E. (CHILD) is cruel to animals	01	02	03
F. (CHILD) is defiant	01	02	03
G. (CHILD)'s demands must be met immediately	01	02	03
H. (CHILD) destroys (his/her) own things	01	02	03
I. (CHILD) destroys things belonging to (his/her) family or other children	01	02	03
J. (CHILD) is disobedient	01	02	03
K. (CHILD) is disturbed by any change in routine	01	02	03
L. (CHILD) doesn't answer when people talk to (him/her)	01	02	03
M. (CHILD) doesn't get along with other children	01	02	03

9.1 (continued)

	NOT TRUE	SOMEWHAT OR SOMETIMES TRUE	VERY OR OFTEN TRUE
N. (CHILD) doesn't seem to feel guilty after misbehaving .	01	02	03
O. (CHILD) is easily frustrated	01	02	03
P. (CHILD) is easily jealous	01	02	03
Q. (CHILD) gets hurt a lot, is accident-prone	01	02	03
R. (CHILD) gets in many fights	01	02	03
S. (CHILD) gets into everything	01	02	03
T. (CHILD) has trouble getting to sleep	01	02	03
U. (CHILD) hits others	01	02	03
V. (CHILD) has angry moods	01	02	03
W. (CHILD) is nervous, high strung or tense	01	02	03
X. (CHILD) physically attacks people	01	02	03
Y. (CHILD)'s punishment doesn't change (his/her) behavior	01	02	03
Z. (CHILD) quickly shifts from one activity to another	01	02	03
AA. (CHILD) screams a lot	01	02	03
BB. (CHILD) is selfish or won't share	01	02	03
CC. (CHILD) is stubborn, sullen, or irritable	01	02	03
DD. (CHILD) has sudden changes in mood or feelings	01	02	03
EE. (He/She) sulks a lot	01	02	03
FF. (CHILD) talks or cries out in sleep	01	02	03
GG. (He/She) has temper tantrums or a hot temper	01	02	03
HH. (CHILD) is uncooperative	01	02	03
II. (He/She) is unusually loud	01	02	03
JJ. (He/She) wakes up often at night	01	02	03
KK. (CHILD) wants a lot of attention	01	02	03
LL. (He/She) whines			
MM. (CHILD) has speech problems (SPECIFY)	01	02	03

SECTION 10

STRESSFUL EVENTS

10.0 DID PARENT COMPLETE THE SELF-ADMINISTERED VERSION OF THESE QUESTIONS (SAQ4)?

YES 01 → GO TO SECTION 11

NO 00 → CONTINUE

10.1 I am going to read you a list of things that sometimes happen to people. We'd like to know which of these, if any, have happened to you in the past year.

	<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>
A. Have you had a relative or close friend in jail?	01	00
B. Has someone you were close to died or been killed in the last year?	01	00
C. During the past year, have you lived in a household where someone had a problem with alcohol or drugs?	01	00
D. Has someone abused you physically, emotionally, or sexually?	01	00

10.2 For each of the following items, please tell me how often each one happened to you in the past year?

From
FACES

(READ ITEM.) Has this happened never, once, or more than once?

CODE ONLY ONE RESPONSE FOR EACH STATEMENT.

	NEVER	ONCE	MORE THAN ONCE	(DO NOT READ) REFUSED
a. I heard or saw violent crime take place in my neighborhood	01	02	03	-3
b. I know someone who was victim of a violent crime in my neighborhood	01	02	03	-3
c. I was a victim of violent crime in my neighborhood	01	02	03	-3

10.3 Has (CHILD) been a witness to a violent crime in the past year?

YES 01

NO 00

REFUSED -3

10.4 Has (CHILD) been a witness to domestic violence in the past year?

YES 01

NO 00

REFUSED -3

10.5 Has (CHILD) been the victim of a violent crime in the past year?

YES 01

NO 00

REFUSED -3

SECTION 11

HOW PARENT HAS BEEN FEELING

11.2

CESD
SHORT

I am going to read a list of ways you may have felt or behaved. Looking at the categories on this card, please tell me how often you have felt this way during the past week.

SHOW
CARD
16

How often during the past week have you felt (READ STATEMENT)--would you say: rarely or never, some or a little of the time, occasionally or a moderate amount of time, or most or all of the time? **REPEAT FOR B-L AND CIRCLE ONE CODE FOR EACH.**

PROBE: During the last 7 days.

CODE ONLY ONE RESPONSE FOR EACH STATEMENT.

	RARELY OR NEVER (LESS THAN 1 DAY)	SOME OR A LITTLE (1-2 DAYS)	OCCASIONALLY OR MODERATE (3-4 DAYS)	MOST OR ALL (5-7 DAYS)
A. Bothered by things that usually don't bother you	01	02	03	04
B. You did not feel like eating; your appetite was poor	01	02	03	04
C. That you could not shake off the blues, even with help from family and friends ..	01	02	03	04
D. You had trouble keeping your mind on what you were doing	01	02	03	04
E. Depressed	01	02	03	04
F. That everything you did was an effort ..	01	02	03	04
G. Fearful	01	02	03	04
H. Your sleep was restless	01	02	03	04
I. You talked less than usual	01	02	03	04
J. You felt lonely	01	02	03	04
K. You felt sad	01	02	03	04
L. You could not get "going"	01	02	03	04

SECTION 13

INTERVIEWER OBSERVATIONS OF HOME ENVIRONMENT

INTERVIEWER: PLEASE COMPLETE THIS SECTION AFTER YOU LEAVE THE RESPONDENT'S HOME.

ANSWER ON THE BASIS OF YOUR PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS OF THE HOME AND THE MOTHER/CHILD INTERACTIONS AT THE TIME OF YOUR VISIT.

A. PARENT-CHILD INTERACTION

13A.1 MOTHER USES CORRECT GRAMMAR AND PRONUNCIATION.

To receive credit the mother must be able to communicate with you. Pronunciation with enough precision that the mother can be understood is more important than precise grammar.

EASILY UNDERSTOOD 01

NOT EASILY UNDERSTOOD 00

13A.2 WHEN SPEAKING OF OR TO CHILD, MOTHER'S VOICE CONVEYS POSITIVE FEELING.

Is the mother pleased with her child? Does she enjoy (him/her) and talk about (him/her) in a pleasant, joyful manner rather than talk in a flat tone which communicates, "She's here, so I'll put up with her."

POSITIVE 01

NOT POSITIVE 00

13A.3 MOTHER CONVERSES WITH CHILD AT LEAST TWICE DURING VISIT (SCOLDING AND DEGRADING COMMENTS ARE NOT COUNTED).

This item involves maternal conversation, not just vocalization which can be any sounds or words exchanged with the child. The mother must make an effort to converse with the child and ask questions, to talk about things, or to engage in verbal interchange other than scolding or degrading comments.

CONVERSES 01

DID NOT CONVERSE 00

- 13A.4 **MOTHER ANSWERS CHILD'S QUESTIONS OR REQUESTS VERBALLY.**
In order to receive credit for this item the mother must make an effort to answer the question for the child. If the mother is unable to answer it at the moment, she may tell the child she doesn't know but that they will look up the answer later. Responses such as "Mother's busy, go away" or "Don't bother me now" do not receive credit.

ANSWERS 01

DID NOT ANSWER 00

- 13A.5 **MOTHER USUALLY RESPONDS VERBALLY TO CHILD'S TALKING.**
The key here is that the mother recognizes and acknowledges the child's vocalizations and does not ignore them. For a score of "01" the response may be a word or series of words or sounds such as, "Uh huh," "Um" or "Sure." If the child does not vocalize in any way during the interview, thereby giving no opportunity for response, the score would be "00."

RESPONDS VERBALLY 01

DOES NOT RESPOND VERBALLY 00

- 13A.6 **MOTHER SPONTANEOUSLY PRAISES CHILD'S QUALITIES OR BEHAVIOR TWICE DURING VISIT.**
The key word here is "spontaneous," but since most mothers enjoy talking about and are proud of their children, this is not too hard to observe. Frequently a mother will tell you how well her child throws a ball or runs and will brag on how well he/she dresses himself/herself or can get his/her own drink.

SPONTANEOUS PRAISE 01

NOT SPONTANEOUS PRAISE 00

- 13A.7 **MOTHER CARESSES, KISSES OR CUDDLES CHILD AT LEAST ONCE DURING VISIT.**

This need not be a wild burst of showy affection. Simple signs of concern such as a mother gently tucking the child's shirt in, holding him/her on her lap, holding a hand, or a gentle pat on the shoulder would all receive a "01."

AFFECTIONATE 01

NOT AFFECTIONATE 00

- 13A.8 **MOTHER SETS UP SITUATION THAT ALLOWS CHILD TO "SHOW OFF" DURING VISIT.**
Does the mother consciously get the child to sing a song, count, show how a toy works or anything that allows the child to do something to impress the visitor?

SHOW OFF 01
DID NOT SHOW OFF 00

- 13A.9 **MOTHER INTRODUCES INTERVIEWER TO CHILD.**
A formal introduction is not necessary for credit. A comment such as, "This is Mrs. Jones, she's here to talk to us," or "Show Mrs. Jones the new book you got for your birthday" will receive credit. The object is for the mother to make the child aware of the visitor's name and the fact that she has come to visit both of them and not just the mother.

INTRODUCE 01
DID NOT INTRODUCE 00

- 13A.10 **MOTHER USES COMPLEX SENTENCE STRUCTURE AND SOME LONG WORDS IN CONVERSING.**
If the mother makes an attempt at carrying on a regular conversation instead of just finding a way to answer all of the questions with "Yes" or "No" or "I don't know" and not giving any explanation, this should be scored "01."

COMPLEX 01
NOT COMPLEX 00

- 13A.11 **MOTHER DOES NOT SCOLD (YELL) OR DEROGATE CHILD MORE THAN ONCE DURING VISIT.**
In this item all remarks must be made to the child; that is, the mother must tell the child that he is a bad boy and not simply tell the interviewer that the child is bad. If this occurs more than once during the visit, the item should be scored "00."

DID NOT SCOLD 01
SCOLDED 00

13A.12 MOTHER DOES NOT USE PHYSICAL RESTRAINT, SHAKE, GRAB, OR PINCH CHILD DURING VISIT.

In a younger child the mother might be apt to hold the child in her lap even though the child struggles to get down. An older child might be placed in a chair to keep him/her out of the way, or he/she might be jerked back for handling items on a table or pulled away if he/she tried to climb on the interviewer's lap.

DID NOT USE RESTRAINT 01

RESTRAINED 00

13A.13 MOTHER NEITHER SLAPS OR SPANKS CHILD DURING VISIT.

This item goes hand in hand with No. 13A.12. In this item the slaps and spanks must be in anger or as a reprimand for some wrongdoing. An affectionate pat on the bottom as the mother sends the child out to play does not mean the item should receive a "00."

DID NOT SLAP OR SPANK 01

SLAPPED OR SPANKED 00

B. PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

13B.1 STRUCTURAL SAFETY OF THE HOME: THE HOME'S STATE OF DISREPAIR OR NEGLECT AND THOSE ASPECTS OF THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT THAT COULD BE POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS TO A YOUNG CHILD.

CIRCLE ONE

Parts of the home appear unsafe; home creates a dangerous environment for the preschool child; plaster coming off ceiling or walls; stairway with boards missing; exposed electrical wiring; kitchen cabinets do not have doors 01

Home is neither unsafe nor safe; some obvious safety modifications and repairs to physical environment are needed but the environment does not suggest imminent harm or danger to preschool child; water stains on some ceilings or walls, wallpaper in need of some repair 02

No obvious repairs to the home are necessary 03

13C.6

I HAVE READ THIS COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRE AND CERTIFY THAT ALL QUESTIONS REQUIRING ANSWERS HAVE BEEN APPROPRIATELY FILLED IN, AND THAT THIS INTERVIEW HAS BEEN ADMINISTERED TO THE DESIGNATED SAMPLE MEMBER.

INTERVIEWER

--	--	--	--	--

ID NUMBER

DATE

APPENDIX D

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD FORM

IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY
OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Institutional Review Board
Office of Research Assurances
Vice Provost for Research
1138 Pearson Hall
Ames, Iowa 50011-2207
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FAX 515 294-4267

Date: March 4, 2006
To: Tara Roshaun Carter
From: Dianne Anderson, IRB Co-Chair, Office of Research Assurances,
Human Subjects
Re: IRB ID 06-111

The project "Shaping the Future of Black Parenting: Are Black Parenting Practices a Reflection of Chance and Circumstance?" does not fit the definition of human subject research according to the federal guidelines, 45 CFR 46. Research is defined in 45 CFR 46 as a systematic investigation, including research development, testing, and evaluation, designed to develop or contribute to generalizable knowledge. Activities, which meet this definition, constitute research for purposes of this policy, whether or not they are conducted or supported under a program, which is considered research for other purposes. For example, some demonstration and service programs may include research activities. Because this project does not need IRB approval, you can proceed with the project. We do, however, urge you to protect the rights of your participants in the same ways that you would if IRB approval were required. This includes providing relevant information about the project to the participants.

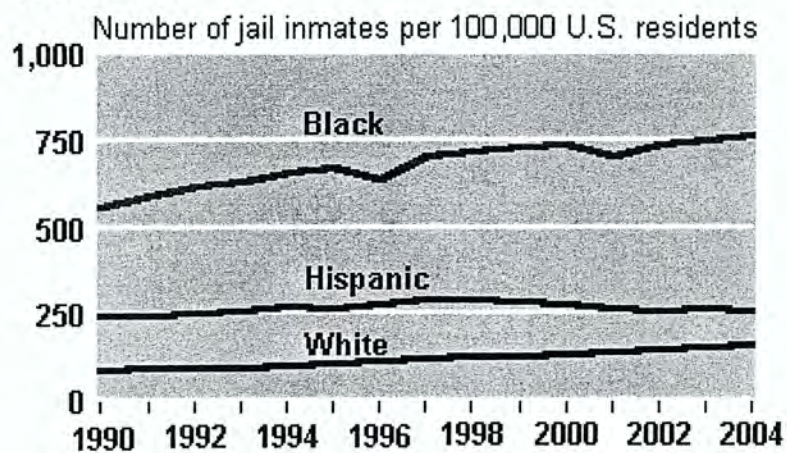
Any modification of this project should be communicated to the IRB to determine if the project still meets the Federal definition of not being research. If it is determined that approval is needed, then an IRB proposal will need to be submitted and approved before proceeding with data collection.

C: Sedahlia Jasper-Crase
File

APPENDIX E

JAILING STATISTICS

Jail incarceration rates by race and ethnicity, 1990-2004



Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics Correctional Surveys

(The National Probation Data Survey, National Prisoner Statistics, Survey of Jails, and The National Parole Data Survey) as presented in Correctional Populations in the United States

<http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/glance/tables/jailrairtab.htm>

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank everyone who has helped make the completion of my Master's degree possible.

Special thanks to my major professor, Dr. Sedahlia Jasper Crase. What a phenomenal teacher, mentor, friend and human being. Thank you for guiding my footsteps in this endeavor, nurturing my creative abilities and allowing me to be who I am. Your patience and support made all the difference in the world. You will never know the impact you have had on my life far beyond working on my thesis. Thank you very much Dr. Crase, my light at the end of a dark tunnel.

I would also like to thank my committee member Dr. Gayle Luze. This project would only be a vision if it had not been for the long and tedious hours you have contributed. From start to finish you have unselfishly provided your time and expertise to make sure this project is successful. Your dedication and words of encouragement have been invaluable. Thank you Dr. Luze for extending your services far and beyond your role as a committee member.

Thank you to Dr. Mack Shelley-- you simply amaze me. Such intelligence and sense of humor, a rare attribute in the statistical world. I truly value your personality and statistical knowledge. Thanks so much Dr. Shelley.

A very special thank you to Man Yu-Yum, statistical consultant--thank you for your countless efforts to help me to map out the statistical analyses. This project would not be complete without your knowledge and help.

I would like to acknowledge Iowa State's Child Development Laboratory School. I appreciate the opportunity to be among such qualified staff in the field of Early Childhood Education.

Finally, last but not least I would like to give honor and praise to my Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. This journey has been long and sometimes stressful, but your faithfulness and mercy shown so bright in my life throughout this entire process. Thank you for the

strength to endure and the mind to complete a great work.